

A
DISSUASIVE
FROM
JACOBITISM:

Shewing in general

What the NATION is to expect from
a Popish King; and in particular,
from the Pretender.

*All that is Dear to you must be irrecoverably lost, if
ever the Designs of a Popish Pretender, bred up in
the Principles of the most Arbitrary Government,
should take place.*

Her Majesty's Speech to her Parliament,
April 1. 1708.

Quod si non aliam venturo Fata Neroni
Invenere viam—

Jam nihil, O Superi, querimur scelera ipsa nefasque
Hac Mercede placent.———

Lucan.

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A DISSUASIVE *from* JACOBITISM, &c.

THEY who are Subjects to a Prince who thinks himself bound in Conscience to destroy them, tho' *they* be never so Loyal, and *he* under the most sacred Tyes to protect them, are of all others the most miserable.

These are indeed such Circumstances, as one would think could never happen; but yet 'tis the Case of all those Protestants who have the misfortune to be under the Dominion of Popish Princes: because the Canons of their infallible Councils, and the Decrees of their unerring Popes, oblige all such Princes on no less Penalty than the Forfeiture of their eternal Salvation, as well as their temporal Dominions, to extirpate all Hereticks; all that will not renounce their Conscience, their Religion, and their God.

Were it possible to suppose that a Popish Prince could have any scruple about a matter so fully settled by the most solemn Constitutions of Popery, yet they by whose Authority his Conscience must be govern'd, and who as Confessors will be admitted into his most intimate Secrets, must needs know how to remove all such Doubts, and make his Zeal for Religion triumph over the most relenting Suggestions of Humanity: the noise they will then make about the Propagation of the Faith, and the Salvation of Millions of Souls, must make him deaf to the loudest Cries of Blood, and drown all the dying Groans of obstinate Hereticks.

Be the Disposition of a Popish Prince as it will, be he either Good or Ill-natur'd, be he Foolish or Wise, Wic-

ked or Godly, Cowardly or Courageous ; his Protestant Subjects are still sure to be destroy'd.

If he be a Good-natur'd Prince, his very Tendernefs and Compassion for the Souls of his Subjects will make him destroy all Hereticks, lest they hinder or endanger the Salvation of others : the *greater* his Charity is, the *less* will be his Humanity ; and he will think nothing more cruel, than to neglect the most effectual means of bringing all his People into the Bosom of the true Church.

If his Principles and Temper be equally ill-natur'd, what will not his furious Zeal prompt him to do, for the Interest of his Religion ?

The weaker any Popish Prince is, the more will he be govern'd by his Priests ; who being every where as bad as such a Religion can render them, will not fail to make him act up to all the persecuting Principles of their Church.

The more wicked any Prince is, the greater Hank will his Priests (who have an excellent knack of reconciling Immorality and Religion) have over him ; they will indulge him in his worst Vices, provided he will atone for them by extirpating Hereticks : a Work so peculiarly charitable, as to hide a multitude of Sins from their sight.

The more godly any Popish Prince is, the greater Bigot will he be to his Religion ; and then the Honour of his God, the Interest of his Church, and the securing his own Salvation, will most heartily engage him in that pious Design of rooting out all Hereticks from the earth.

If he be a Coward, his Fears will then oblige him to run into all the Measures of his Priests ; lest in their Zeal for the Lord of Hosts, they take him off with a Sabre or Poison, which they never fail to bestow on all such Princes as do the Work of the Lord negligently.

If he be a courageous and wise Prince, and have all the good Qualities imaginable, yet so long as he is tainted with the abominable Superstition of Popery, his Wisdom will be but the greater Snare to his Protestant Subjects ; and his Courage will the more effectually assist him in the Execution of those Measures which his Wisdom shall have contriv'd for the Extirpation of Hereticks ; so that

a Prince who would otherwise be the greatest Blessing, must in this case (so fatal is the Influence of Popery) prove the heaviest Curse to a Protestant Nation.

In a word, when a Prince is perswaded (as the Papists are) that all who are not of his Church are so hated by God as to be condemn'd by him to everlasting Misery, from that moment he will think it his Duty and Glory to imitate the Author of all Perfections, and to pursue with all possible hatred those whom God himself hates: and then of whatever Temper he be, he will not scruple to put those Enemies of God to a temporal Death, tho' to save even but one Soul from Death eternal; but much less, when 'tis to bring back a whole Nation, that has long been in a state of Damnation, into the Bosom of that Church, in which alone Salvation is to be obtain'd.

And as no Protestant can draw the least Argument for his Safety, from the Disposition of any Popish Princes, so their Oaths and Engagements which they take for that purpose are less to be minded than those of the most profligate Villains: the latter, how little soever they may regard them, are yet under no Obligation to break them; but the former are, if they will act up to the Dictates of their infallible Church; which has solemnly determin'd in the Council of *Constance*, That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*. And therefore when the Queen Regent of *Scotland*, to justify her so frequent Breaches of her Engagements, declar'd, 'That Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks; and that she would take it on her Conscience (notwithstanding all her Promises) to kill all her Protestant Subjects, she only acted like a most dutiful Daughter of 'Holy Mother Church.' So when in the *Irish† Massacre* the Papists murder'd all the Protestants who yielded on Terms, with their Passports and Safeguards in their hands, they only follow'd the example of that infallible Council, which most religiously burnt *John Huss* and *Jerom* of *Prague* notwithstanding their Safe-Conduct.

* History of the Reformation, par. 2. pag. 410.

† This and what else I shall mention concerning the Irish Rebellion, is taken out of Sir John Temple's Authentick History.

Nay, all the Oaths that Popish Princes make to their Protestant Subjects, can serve to no other end, than to hasten on their Destruction; because they thinking themselves under a prior and greater Obligation to God to destroy Hereticks, must believe that breaking such Oaths, and acting steddily and vigorously against them, is the only Tye which they can lay upon them. Nor can they in the least boggle at such Oaths, since they are taught that 'tis no crime to make bold with the sacred Name of God when they act for his Service, and lend Heaven their assistance to send its worst Enemies the Hereticks to Hell.

In a word, the Good of the *Romish* Church (that is, the Interest of its Priests) being held as the supreme Law by its blind Votaries; every thing, tho never so vile, if it contributes to that End, is esteem'd an indispensable Duty; and in truth, the only Duty that is so: hence it is that Fraud and Force, to which upon all occasions they have recourse, are the two grand Supports of the Kingdom of *Antichrist*.

As no Protestants can depend for a moment on the most solemn Engagements of a Popish Prince, so neither can their most important Services avail them, so long as their Prince is persuaded that the Extirpation of Hereticks is a necessary Duty: nay, generally those Protestants who have deserv'd best at their hands (such is the Gratitude of Popish Princes!) have soonest felt the effects of their unrelenting persecuting Spirit.

Did not our Popish Queen *Mary* most solemnly promise the Nation the Continuance of their Religion, and declare (calling God to witness her Sincerity) that tho for her own part she were of a different Faith, yet she would content her self with the private Exercise of her Religion, and protect and support her Protestant Subjects in the Enjoyment of their Rights? and yet she was no sooner plac'd on the Throne, but the Vizard was pull'd off, and *Smithfield* glow'd with Piles of blazing Hereticks. And none, as our Chronicles relate, felt the weight of her Severity more sensibly than the *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* Men, who having so little Understanding as to believe a protesting Popish Queen, hazarded their Lives to set the Crown on her Head; for which she in

Royal

Royal Gratitude thought it her Duty to give them the first Crown of Mart rdom: I say, the first, because tis plain that nothing but Death hinder'd her from destroying every Protestant in her Dominions.

And if Protestants were then so deservedly blam'd for depending upon the fair Speeches of a *Popish Queen*, how inexcusable a Folly must it now be, to rely upon the Promises of a *Popish Pretender*, making his court for a Crown, when we have had since that time so many Examples of the Perfidiousness, Treachery and Perjury of Popish Princes, and not one Instance of any who have kept their Word with their Protestant Subjects?

If any Protestant expects to find his private advantage in sticking for a Popish Pretender, let him but consider the Fate of that * Protestant Judg, who, contrary to the unanimous Opinion of his Brethren, prefer'd the Title of Queen *Mary* to that of the Lady *Jane Gray*: For so little could even that important Service atone for his Heresy, that he was degraded, imprison'd, and treated in such a manner, as oblig'd him at length to put an end to his miserable Life with his own hands.

But perhaps the Return which the *Grand Persecutor* of Hereticks has made his Protestant Subjects, who secur'd the tottering Crown on his Head, is an Instance that may more nearly affect those Men, who intirely rely upon his *Bona Fide*: the most cruel Persecutions he has all along carry'd on against his Protestant Subjects, are too evident a proof how well he has observ'd the Edict of *Nantes*; which nevertheless he often promis'd them to maintain inviolable, and which being built upon the Faith of so many Treaties, was become part of the National Constitution.

But if this Instance does not touch these Gentlemen near enough, let them consider King *James's* Gratitude to the *Church of England*; and whether those Churchmen who so zealously oppos'd the Exclusion-Bill, and did all that was possible to serve him, had not too good reason to apprehend, that they, like the *Norfolk-Men*, would have sell the first Sacrifice to his Bigotry, had he con-

* *Judg Hales.*

tinu'd ever so little longer on the Throne : and can it be expected that *James the Pretender* should keep Faith with Hereticks, better than *James the Just* ?

That no kind Usage can disarm Popery of its inveterate Malice against Protestants, may be seen by the Conduct of the *Irish* Papists in 41 ; when they were highly favour'd by the Government, had a share both in the Magistracy and Legislature, and not the least pretence to complain of any ill Treatment from their Protestant Neighbours : and yet all these Advantages were too weak to restrain them from entering into a general Conspiracy to destroy all the Protestants of that Kingdom ; in pursuance of which, they murder'd without mercy all those who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, Men, Women, and Children.

The *Irish* Massacre being within the Memory of Man, and in all its Circumstances so horridly barbarous, they who endeavour to wipe off so foul a stain from Popery, tell us, that this Massacre is not so much to be imputed to the Religion, as to the Barbarity of that unpolish'd People. Indeed one would think that any Religion, which had encourag'd such monstrous Cruelties, must soon become the Aversion of human Nature : Ravishing Women in the presence of their Husbands, hanging them up by the heels, ripping up the Big-belly'd, with delight beholding the unborn Children struggling for Life, and then throwing them to the Dogs, or trampling them under foot, were their most innocent Diversions. But as barbarous as this may appear, it was equal'd by what other Papists did in *Queen Mary's days* ; particularly, when a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt * at the same Stake ; and the Violence of the Flame bursting the Belly of one of them, a Boy fell from her into the Fire, and was immediately snatch'd out : but that could not save the Life of the poor Infant, for the Dean of *Jersey* order'd him to be thrown in again ; and so he was literally baptiz'd with Fire.

To shew 'twas Religion alone which arm'd those *Irish* with that unrelenting Cruelty, we need only ob-

* History of the Reformation, par. 2. pag. 337.

serve, That the Papists of the *English* Pale equal'd the *Wild Irish* in their very worst Acts of Treachery and Barbarity : tho both of them committed such dreadful Outrages, as must inspire every true Protestant with a noble Resolution rather to hazard all, than to see his Country fall into the merciless hands of any Papists.

What those *Irish* then acted, was also with the Approbation of the infallible Head of their Church, whose Agents not only were the chief Abettors and Promoters of that horrid Conspiracy, but the *Pope's Nuncio himself* was the forwardest of any, assuming and exercising the Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military Power over them ; and therefore what those *Irish* then did, ought to be esteem'd a solemn Act of the *Romish* Church, represented in the Person of their most holy Father the Pope.

In short, 'tis ridiculous to dispute who are most cruel among the Papists, since their Cruelty is as boundless as the Ignorance and Bigotry of the Laicks, and the Covetousness and Pride of their Ecclesiasticks.

And there's no reason to think but that the Papists in *England*, had they an opportunity, would act like those in *Ireland* ; whose Fury could be satisfy'd with nothing less than blowing up at once the King and both Houses of Parliament. Had this Devilish Plot succeeded, how would the poor People have been confounded to see, on the one hand, the scatter'd Limbs and mangled Carcasses of their Sovereign, their Nobles, and all those in *whom* they trusted, and *whom* but just before they reverenc'd as *Gods* ; and on the other hand, Men no better than *Devils* ready to execute the second part of the Hellish Tragedy upon them ?

And can we think that those who in so barbarous a manner attempted to destroy the whole Legislature, would have become on a sudden of so relenting and merciful a Temper, as to have spar'd one Protestant alive, when they had got them *all* in their power ?

And we have as little reason to think that the *English* Papists would be at all more backward at *this time* to act the like Barbarities : since they hold those Conspirators in the highest Veneration, and believe that even *Miracles* are wrought by *Straws* dipt in the Blood of St. Garnet the

Jesuit, one of the chief Conspirators. But to go no further back than the Popish Plot in *Charles II's* time; they who could with so much Ingratitude and Baseness attempt the Life of a Prince so infinitely indulgent to them, cannot be presum'd to have more Tenderness for the Life of any Protestant, to whom they have no such Obligations.

If we look beyond our own Country, and examine the Conduct of our next Popish Neighbours, we shall find that no Treaties, no Engagements, no Oaths could ever restrain them from using the Protestants after the same barbarous manner. Could any thing be more villanous than the Massacre at *Paris*, and other great Cities in *France*? Was there not all imaginable Treachery employ'd to draw the Protestants into the Snare? Did not the *Queen Mother* most solemnly assure them of her Friendship, and the *King himself* highly care's all the Heads of them, making innumerable Protestations (always accompany'd with Oaths) of his sincere Kindness for them? And as a finishing Stroke, was not a Marriage set on foot between his own Sister and the King of *Navarre*; the Heads of the Protestants having the honour to be invited to the Wedding? all which was done with no other design than to get them into his power, in order to murder them: for which pious Service, this most perfidious Prince was most highly applauded by the *Pope*, Cardinals, Prelates, &c.

The Conduct of the *French* Clergy, and other Zealots of that Kingdom, shews, that they are capable of coming into any Measures for the Extirpation of Heresy, to effect which, they first run into all the Excesses of a popular Sedition, and murder'd two Kings; one of whom (*Henry III.*) was willing to have come into any persecuting Measures that were consistent with his own Safety, and with his not delivering up his Kingdom to the *Spaniards*; for which the Priests were extremely zealous, hoping by the Assistance of that Nation, which then bid so fair for Universal Monarchy, to be able to extirpate all Hereticks, whether in or out of *France*. And after this, they run into the other Extreme of Arbitrary Power; so that *France* may now thank them for the Loss of their

their antient Liberties: so resolv'd were they at any rate to get rid of the Protestants.

The Papists prefer even *Jews* and *Mahometans*, nay *Heathens* themselves, before Protestants; for tho they suppose their Errors are alike damnable, yet the Protestants are represented as apostatizing against the Light of their own Reason, and industriously stifling that Conviction which their Arguments must afford the Unprejudic'd: and therefore I shall shew in an instance or two, how they have dealt with those whom they do not hate so much as the Reform'd, that every Protestant may the better judg what Treatment he is to expect from them.

Dr. *Geddes's* * History of the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* out of Spain, is full of the Perfidiousness, Perjury, and Cruelty of the *Spanish Kings* to that People: which he declares he made publick, ' as believing it might be of great use to our own and all Protestant Governments, that they might be warn'd by it to be always on the guard against an indefatigable Enemy, who tho he may promise, does never give quarter to any who will not believe as the Church of *Rome* does.'

Of the many Instances he there produces, I shall mention but one; and that concerning the Kingdom of *Arragon*, where he says that not only the Barons had a power to stop the Rents of the Crown-Lands, so long as any Subject was aggriev'd contrary to the Sentence of the *Justiciary of Arragon*; (a Magistrate appointed by the three Estates to redress all Grievances) but that the King, by not observing the Laws, forfeited his Crown; the Subjects swearing Allegiance to him in these words: *We who are as valuable as you, make you our King, upon condition that you observe our Laws and Liberties; if not, not.* And the *Moriscoes* had not only a Law in confirmation of their Liberties, but it was part of the King's Coronation-Oath, ' That upon no pretence whatever, he should expel the *Moriscoes*, or force them to be baptiz'd; and that he should neither directly nor indirectly desire to be absolv'd from his Oath: and in case a Dispensation was offer'd him, not to accept of it; or

' if he did, *that* whatsoever was *done* thereupon, should be null.' Besides, as my Author observes, it was notorious that the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* would be the Ruin and Depopulation of the Country. Yet all these Considerations were broke thorow, and we have in that History the Form of a Dispensation sent by the Pope to *Charles V.* by which he was intirely releas'd from his Oath. Here was all the care taken that human Prudence could contrive, to secure the Subjects Rights, since the Prince was put under all the Obligations civil and sacred to defend them; and yet Popery was too strong for all these Tyes, and *Charles V.* tho the least a Bigot, and the most generous of all the *Spanish Kings*, thought himself oblig'd for the sake of his Religion to trample them under his feet. And can we think that one, who as much outdoes *Charles V.* in Bigotry, as he comes short of him in good Qualities, will not be influenc'd to act after the same manner, for the sake of Holy Mother Church? or that the present Pope will not be as ready to dispense with an Oath as any of his Predecessors, when 'tis to extirpate those whom he hates worse even than Infidels?

If the simple harmless *Indians*, who treated the *Spaniards* with all imaginable Kindness, met with nothing in return from those bloody-minded Papists, but such inhuman Cruelties, as future Ages would hardly be brought to believe, were it not that we have the account from one of their own * Bishops, who owns the Destruction of above Forty Millions; how can we expect but that this Island shall be turn'd into a Desert, rather than Protestantism shall not be extirpated?

And would any *Englishman* but read *De las Casas's* Account of the Cruelties which these *Spaniards* merely out of Wantonness committed on those poor *Indians*, he could not but be struck with the utmost Horror and Indignation, even without the apprehension that either he or his Country were shortly to undergo the same Fate.

The Jesuits had no sooner converted the Emperor of *Japan*, and as many of his Subjects as they thought suffi-

* Bartholomew de las Casas.

cient to murder the rest upon a Surprize, but they prevail'd on 'em to attempt it ; and tho the Design was manag'd with all Jesuitical Cunning, yet it was discover'd by some who had not been long enough *Papists* to have lost all their *Pagan* Humanity, and so the Plotters themselves suffer'd what they intended for others.

If the Jesuits could prevail on new Converts, who could not easily quit the Love and Tenderness that Nature and Education insus'd into 'em for their Countrymen, their Friends, their Relations, their Wives, their Children, and their Parents, to consent to the Massacre of such of 'em as were not converted ; how easily will they be able to prevail on old *Papists*, who from Generation to Generation have been bred up with the utmost Hatred to Protestants, to come into any Measures for their Destruction ? And if the Pretender prevails, will not the Jesuits have the direction of his Conscience ? and that Protestant must be very sanguine, who will then hope to escape.

If we take a Survey of the Conduct of the *Papists* in other Countries, as *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Piedmont*, &c. or read their Histories either ancient or modern, we shall find that Popery at all times, and in all places, has been still the same. 'Twere endless to mention the prodigious numbers of *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, and other pious Christians, who were butcher'd by them in the days of our Forefathers ; the Pope making it more meritorious to fight against Hereticks, than against *Infidels*, tho for the Recovery of the *Holy Land* : a Work that was thought of the highest merit, till *Crusades* were turn'd against the Hereticks ; and then whoever would come into this holy War under the Pope's Banners, tho he were ever so great a Villain, might yet be assur'd of Heaven, if Papal Dispensations, Plenary Indulgences, and Pardons could secure it to him.

In those Popish Countries where the Inquisition is establish'd (and 'tis not their Clergy's fault if it be not so every where) Bigotry and Cruelty are at the highest ; and 'tis scarce credible what pride even the chief of the Nobility take in being Catchpoles to the Inquisition, or what an honour they esteem it to carry Faggots for the Execution of Hereticks ; taking infinite pleasure to see

the Convulsions and Agonies, and hear the Groans and Shrieks of the poor tortur'd Wretches.

Dr. *Geddes**, who was an Eye-witness, says, ' That tho out of Hell there cannot possibly be a more lamentable Spectacle than those Executions, the Condemn'd being sometimes two hours a dying, so that they were really roasted, not burnt to death; crying out as long as they could speak, *Mercy! Mercy, for the Love of God!* yet that all this is beheld by People of both Sexes and all Ages, with such Transports of Joy and Satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with.'

And can Protestants have too great a dread of falling under the power of one, who has been educated in *that* Church, which glories in these Inhumanities; a Church that can transform both Priests and People into such Devils incarnate?

Who can forbear crying out with that most pious † Divine of our Church? ' Good God! that any thing which is call'd Religion should perfectly strip Men of all Humanity, and transform the mild and gentle Race of Mankind into such Tygers and Wolves! that a pretended Zeal for thy Glory should instigate Men to dishonour thee at such a rate!'

To shew how Falshood and Cruelty go together, I cannot but take notice that when the Popish Clergy deliver over a Protestant, or any other Heretick, to be burnt by the Civil Magistrate, they most earnestly intreat him not to put his Life in danger; which is such an impudent Mockery of God and Man, as is not to be parallel'd in History: and yet this is practis'd in all Popish Countries, and the Notoriety of the Writ *de Heretico Comburendo*, could not hinder our Popish Priests from using the same scandalous Prevarication. And they in *Richard II's* time had the impudence to forge an Act of Parliament for burning such as they stil'd Hereticks: and tho the Imposture was discover'd in the next Parliament, yet so great an influence had the Clergy over this bigotted

* Miscellaneous Tracts, pag. 416.

† Archbishop Tillotson.

Nation, that they not only escap'd the Punishment due to such an audacious piece of Villany, but in a short time after obtain'd that very Act they had before so scandalously forg'd.

Another Instance of the Malice and Falshood of Popish Priests, is their robbing those of their Reputations, whom they deprive of their Lives; and therefore they gave out that the *Albigenses* maintain'd, *That the Devil ought to be worship'd more than God; That Matrimony was Hell and Damnation; and, That in their Religious Assemblies their daily practice was to murder Infants, and drink their Blood.* And here in England they charg'd the *Lollards* and Followers of *Wickliff* with as many monstrous Opinions and scandalous Practices.

Every one knows what vile Slanders they rais'd on our first Reformers: for where they can't reach peoples Lives, they are doubly diligent in defaming their Persons, and misrepresenting their Opinions; and the nearer any approach towards Popery, the sonder they are of this villanous Practice.

Popery, like all other ill things, is so far from mending by Age, that this adds Reverence and Authority to its Villanies; and the old applauded Examples of Perfidiousness and Cruelty, are now no small Motives to the like practices: And therefore if Papists were not now ty'd down by the Decrees of their infallible Councils and Popes, yet there is but little reason to imagine that they would act with more Sincerity and Humanity; or think themselves more bound by their Engagements to Hereticks, than their Religious Forefathers. To shew which, I need only put the Reader in mind of the Behaviour of the Popish Cantons of *Lucern, Uri, Underwald, and Zug*, towards the Protestant Cantons of *Berne and Zurich*; which being a Transaction of last Summer, cannot but be fresh in every one's memory. Did not those two Protestant Cantons shew an uncommon Act of Generosity, in allowing their Popish Neighbours such favourable Terms of Peace, when they had them intirely at their mercy? And did not they in return most perfidiously break the Treaty, when the Ink with which they sign'd it was scarce dry, with an intent to surprize and cut them to pieces? The chief Promoter of which Villany

was

was the Pope's Nuncio, who no doubt did not fail on this occasion to insist strenuously upon the Obligation they were under of not keeping Faith with Hereticks.

The Conduct of that Prince who is the great Champion of the Popish Cause, is another Instance how religiously the Papists keep up to the Maxims of their Forefathers. Does he, where he gives his Royal Word, vouchsafe to give any thing else? Or did he ever make a Treaty, but with a premeditated Design to break it? And yet this pious Intention of promoting the Interest of Mother Church (whose Empire he is resolv'd to extend as far as his own) can it seems sanctify the worst of his Actions; and with this holy View, he shall be dispens'd with for calling the *Turk* himself into *Christendom*, and procuring part of the large Country of *Podolia* and the strong Fortres of *Caminiec* to be made over to the Infidels. Could any thing be more contrary to his most Christian Majesty's solemn Engagements at the Treaty of *Reswick*, than his quickly after promising the late King *James* upon his Death-bed never to abandon the Pretender, but always to acknowledg and entertain him as * *King of England*, and declaring that he hop'd to see him treated after the same manner by the whole World? Yet what Papist is there, who does not cry up this publick Violation of his Faith, as one of the most heroick and glorious Actions of his Life? And the Pope in a Speech made in a full Consistory says, *That in this truly the most Christian King's Zeal and Greatness of Soul shines in a wonderful manner.* And tho he should be put under the same Engagements at *Utrecht* as he was at *Reswick*, no Protestant can doubt but that his Zeal and Greatness of Soul would shine after the same wonderful manner.

Nothing but the utmost Perfidiousness is to be expected from a Church built on an infinite number of Lyes concerning wonderful Cures done by Relicks, Pictures, Images, &c. and of Miracles without end relating to the Host, Purgatory, casting out of Devils, and other Leger-

* Circular Letter concerning King *James's* Death, printed at Paris by order of the Chancellor.

+ Ibid.

demean Tricks; and where Forgeries of all sorts, especially such as relate to Books and Records, are constantly practis'd, and where the Priests abound with such Distinctions as can justify any Equivocation, Lye, Fraud, or Cheat whatsoever.

What can we expect but authoriz'd Villany, from a Church whose infallible Head claims a power of annulling Contracts between Man and Man, and dissolving Oaths between Princes, and between them and their Subjects? What need I mention his pretending to give allowances in cases which God and Nature have prohibited; or obliging his Members to believe Virtue to be Vice, and Vice Virtue, according as he shall determine; his Indulgences for Sins for the time to come, as well as past, and his presumptuous Pretence of freeing such as die in a State of Sin from all Pains in the other World; and then his setting a rate upon all Crimes, that his good Subjects may know how to sin cheaply, by which means the worst Christians are his best Customers? so that *New Rome* may be said to have peopled the Church by the same Policy as *Old Rome* did the City, by opening a Sanctuary to all Malefactors.

And our Nobility and Gentry would shew themselves strangely ignorant of the Principles and Maxims, as well as History of Popery, if after so many repeated Acts of Treachery which they have in all Ages been guilty of against the Protestants, they should ever rely on the most solemn Assurances of any Member of that profligate Church. And 'tis their own fault, if they do not plainly perceive that the least approaches towards it are so bewitching, that those who are but in the Interest of a Popish Pretender have no regard to the most solemn Promises: so that the Leaven of Popery, like that of the *Pharisees*, tho ever so little, sours the whole Lump.

Our Ancestors, who knew the Cruelty and Treachery of Popery, thought they could not do their Posterity a more important piece of Service, than to have a true Character of it imprinted in their Minds; for which purpose they caus'd *Fox's* Book of Protestant Martyrs to be chain'd up in our Churches: and this had so good an effect, that they were, as our late excellent Arch-
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bishop * *Tillotson* calls them, one of the two great Pillars of the Protestant Religion. And since the Zeal of the Nation seems unhappily to decrease as the Danger of it increases, I cannot but highly recommend the example of a worthy Gentleman, who has given the Book of Martyrs to his Parish Church of *Shrinnam* in *Berks*: And would others do the like, it could not but revive the same I read which the good People of this Land have always till very lately express'd of Popery. And unless the common People be by some such means made to know what they are to expect from it, now the Pulpits are so silent, they will be too apt, from the Affability of our *English* Papists, to have a better Opinion of it than it deserves.

The best Description of the Spirit of Popery, is in a Sermon preach'd at a time when nothing but the Love of Truth could make Men preach against it; out of which I shall extract a Paragraph or two, where what I have been proving at large, is sum'd up in short: ' The Spirit of Popery (says that excellent † Author) is not only ' contrary to Christianity, but to the Principles of natural Religion, and even to Humanity it self; which by ' Falshood and Perfidiousness, by secret Plots and Contrivances, or by open Sedition and Rebellion, by an ' Inquisition or a Massacre, by deposing and killing of ' Kings, by Fire and Sword, by the Ruin of their Country, and by their betraying it into the hands of Foreigners; and in a word, by dissolving all the Bonds of ' human Society, and subverting the Peace and Order ' of the World, that is, by all the wicked means imaginable, does incite Men to advance and promote their ' Religion.—When Religion once comes to supplant ' moral Honesty, and to teach Men the absurdest things ' in the World, to lye for the Truth, and to kill Men ' for God's sake; when it serves to no other purpose but ' to be a Bond of Conspiracy, to inflame mens Minds ' to a greater Fierceness, and to set a keener edge upon ' their Spirit, and to make them ten times more the

* *Sermons in Folio*, p. 619.

† *Dr. Tillotson's Sermon before the Commons*, Nov. 5. 1678.

‘ Children of Wrath and Cruelty than they were by
 ‘ Nature ; then surely it loses its nature, and ceases to
 ‘ be Religion : for let any Man say worse of Atheism,
 ‘ if he can.’

After this manner our Divines us’d to describe the Spirit of Popery, and to tell their Congregations, That as the Church of *England* was the chief Bulwark against it, so could that restless Enemy accomplish her Ruin, her Members were to expect the worst Treatment that Popish Malice could contrive: but of late the Language of the Pulpit is strangely alter’d, and the Fears of Popery are not only ridicul’d, but even talking against it is made the mark of Sedition. And that most celebrated * Divine, (upon whose account the Mob pull’d down so many Protestant Meeting-Houses) affirms, That *the Cry of Popery has been always the Trumpet to all the Sedition and Rebellion that ever infested the Nation ; and that ’tis a Party-word to exasperate and frighten the Rabble with groundless Jealousies.* Nay, too many of our Clergy, instead of preaching once a month against Popery, as they are bound by *Queen Elizabeth’s Injunctions*, pervert even the Use of the fifth of *November* ; and instead of persuading all Protestants to unite against an Enemy who scruples no Practices, tho’ ever so vile, to destroy them all, rail most bitterly against Protestant Dissenters, as tho’ the Church was in imminent danger from them, and them only: by which means they most artfully divert the People from observing the bold Advances that are every day making towards Popery.

But unless these Men have the Art of preaching people out of their Memories, they cannot so soon forget what dreadful Apprehensions all Protestants were in of a general Massacre, when they saw the late King *James*, in open defiance of the Laws, not only putting all the civil Posts into the hands of Men of his own Religion, but new-modelling his Army, and filling it with *Irish Papists* ; who as they had before by false Oaths murder’d all the Protestants they could reach, were ready with their Swords to compleat the Work: And so secure were they grown of Success, that they openly began to quarrel

* Sacheverel’s Oxford *Affize-Sermon*, Edit. 2. p. 36.

about dividing the Spoil. And the dreadful Horrour the whole Nation was in, even after the Danger was over, shews plainly how deep an Impression this Apprehension of a Massacre had made upon their Minds; and 'tis a sign that all was then thought to be at stake, since King *James's* Protestant Officers, his Servants, his Creatures, nay his Favourites, and even his Children, could all agree to forsake him.

The Miseries from which the Nation was then so miraculously deliver'd, should instruct us how to prevent the like for the future; and if we are truly thankful to God for that signal Mercy *then*, no doubt he will afford us his Assistance *now*: but if instead of *that*, we not only ridicule the Danger and the Deliverance, but again maintain the same Notions that brought us before to the very brink of Ruin, may we not justly expect that such horrid Ingratitude will at length provoke the Almighty to suffer us to fall again into the like miserable Circumstances, the Consequences of our own unaccountable Folly? And then, like *Solomon's Fools*, as we run into our Ruin with our Eyes open, *so we shall call for Deliverance, and shall not be answer'd; and tho we seek it early, we shall not find it.*

If a Prince who was for the most part educated amongst us, and knew the Constitution of the Nation, and its utter Aversion to Popery, could yet as soon as he was got into the Throne attempt the Subversion of our Religion and Liberties; what are we to expect from one who has been constantly educated amongst the Enemies of our Country and Religion, and instructed in all the Arts of *Italian Bigotry* and *French Tyranny*? Who from the first moment he was capable of understanding any thing, could hear nothing from those about him but cursing and reviling the *English* Nation for driving *James II.* from his Throne, and thereby forcing him and them to seek their bread in a foreign Land; and for abjuring, proscribing, and attainting their young Master the pretended *James III.* only for the Sin of being carry'd away, before he had done either Good or Evil?

He who believes himself to be the Son of King *James*, and the rightful Heir to three Kingdoms, will without doubt look upon those who have expos'd him for a

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Warming-Pan Imposture, and represented King *James* as conspiring with his Queen to disinherit his own Royal Issue, by putting a Cheat upon the Nation, as guilty of a Crime not to be forgiven, and which Rivers of Blood can never expiate?

As the *British* and *Irish* Popish Priests endeavour to imprint on the Minds of their Scholars a mortal Aversion to their own Country, lest their natural Love for it should restrain them from joining heartily in their Conspiracies; so doubtless no contrivance, no pains have been wanting, to form in the Mind of their Royal Pupil the utmost Hatred against the *English* Nation. Their Rage for their late Disappointment, when they thought they had the game in their hands, has no doubt made them doubly diligent in this part of his Education; so that *Hannibal* himself could not have been bred up in a greater Aversion to *Rome*, than the Pretender has been to *Great Britain*: and perhaps both were equally sworn at the Altar to carry on an immortal War, one against *Old Rome*, and the other for *New Rome*. 'Tis notorious that this sort of swearing is practis'd in the Church of *Rome*: the *Irish* Papiests were sworn by their Priests upon the blessed Sacrament to destroy all the Protestants in that Country, without distinction of Age or Sex; and we have little reason to imagine that the enrag'd Fathers at *St. Germain's* come short of their *Irish* Brethren, or have not taken the most proper Measures to confirm the Pretender in the same Principles.

And this his Hatred to the *English*, which he had from his Cradle, must (if possible) be improv'd by conversing with the *French*, whose antient hereditary Hatred to this Nation cannot but be very much increas'd, by the Extrémities to which we have more than once reduc'd them during the course of this long War. Can the *French* Slaves make their court to their *Grand Monarch* better than by endeavouring to infuse into the Pretender an utter Aversion to the *English* Nation, which lately, as well as in former Ages, stopt the Career of *French* Ambition and Tyranny; and would before now have put it out of his Power to disturb the Quiet of *Christendom*, had not the Force of his all-conquering——been found

found by some *Foreigners* who delight not in War more irresistible than the Force of his *Arms* ?

'Tis evident from History, that the *French* never made any Treaty with the *English*, but upon the first opportunity they broke it ; and their Princes were so far from ever having a real Kindness for *ours*, that they made it their constant business to embroil them : whilst on the other hand they never afforded them the least Assistance, but when they were engag'd in Designs contrary to the Interest of their own Country ; and then indeed they have caress'd them after the highest manner, and spar'd no Sums to bribe their corrupt Ministers. And can it be thought but that the *Grand Monarch* has taken this opportunity to fix such Principles in the Pretender, as shall effectually hinder *Great Britain* from ever putting a stop to any of his mighty Projects, to which a *French* Education made the two Brethren intirely sacrifice the Interest of their Country ? So that tho Religion were really out of the case, yet the Pretender's Hatred to the Nation, the Inconsistency of his Politicks with our Interests, and the great Obligations he lies under to the inveterate Enemy of these Kingdoms, are alone sufficient Reasons to make us dread ever falling into his hands ; who is arm'd with a *French* Sword given him by the *French* King, upon his intended Invasion, with this remarkable Expression : * *Remember, if you prove successful, that 'tis a French Sword.* To which the young Gentleman replv'd, That he would shew his Gratitude by his Actions ; assuring him also upon another occasion, That he would never forget what he ow'd him, but would † return him all his life and in all places all manner of Acknowledgments and Gratitude. And as this is mention'd by his Friends, who no doubt handle this point very tenderly ; so if a *French* Sword in the hands of such a grateful Chevalier will not alarm the People of *Great Britain*, 'tis to be fear'd nothing will, but that they are devoted to Destruction.

* Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George.

† The Circular Letter on King James's Death, printed at Paris by order of the Chancellor.

To compleat our dismal Prospect, 'tis certain that the Pretender is of a *sour, melancholy, saturnine, jealous, cruel and revengeful* Temper; so reserv'd and sullen, that he is seldom prevail'd on to talk, much less to shew (notwithstanding his Youth) the least Gaiety or Chearfulness: and indeed his gloomy Air and cloudy Looks betoken a Nature which ought to give Men most terrible Apprehensions, tho he were not (as in such a Disposition is almost unavoidable) entirely given up to Bigotry and Superstition. So that Nature, Education, and Religion, all concur to make him a very fit Instrument to execute all the bloody Designs of the Priests and Jesuits, to whose Interests and Humours he is as much devoted as they can possibly desire.

If therefore his Designs should take place, (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) who can doubt, but that the *fiery Furnace of Popish Persecution would be heated seven times hotter than ever*; and that what our Lord prophesy'd against *Jerusalem*, would be as terribly verify'd in us? For surely *there would then be great Tribulation among us, such as has not been from the beginning of the World to that time*; and if the Lord should not shorten those days, *no Flesh should be sav'd*.

But some of our modern Zealots, the better to seduce unthinking People, say that in due time the Pretender will declare himself a Protestant; and this they have carefully insinuated ever since his Attempt upon *Scotland*: but because no man can really change his Religion without Conviction, these Gentlemen must either be endow'd with a Spirit of Prophecy, and have it reveal'd to them when God will grant him this Conviction; or else all that they can say will amount to no more, than that 'tis thought proper that the Pretender (the Nation having still a little more Sense left, than to take a bare-fac'd Papist) shall dissemble his Religion, whilst his Creatures, the better to carry on the Cheat, are to cry him up for a real Convert.

Nor indeed is it improbable that the Pretender should act this part, since in a Church which measures every thing (as I have already shewn) by its own Interest, he who scruples such a Trifle as this, must pass for a very ill Churchman; especially if he have a Papal Dispensation, which

which is never deny'd to Persons of much less figure, and where the Interest of the Church is much less concern'd.

In *Ireland* Fryar *Langton* pretended to quit Popery, in order (as appears by the Votes of the House of Commons there) to swear *Irish* Protestants into a Plot; and many other Papists of that Kingdom have since taken the Oaths, the better to serve the Pretender, and abjur'd him with the same *Bona Fide*, as he doubtless will abjure Popery.

And as he has been bred up under so great a Master of Dissimulation, he will easily learn to distinguish between the *Letter* and *Spirit* of an Oath, and to mean the Church of *Rome*, when he swears to defend the Church of *England*.

But tho'tis altogether as likely that the *French* King should turn Hugonot, as that the Pretender, who has been bred up with the strongest Prejudices against Protestants and their Religion, should ever become a real Convert, yet it seems 'tis necessary to have it said that he is just upon the point of Conversion; and that one *White*, alias *Lesley*, is to go over (by order, I suppose, of the *French* King) to finish the Work, and make him as good a Protestant as himself.

The Jacobites are not consistent with themselves as to this matter; for some of 'em, seeing how easily the People will swallow any thing, say that the Pretender is already a good Church-of-*England* Man, and only dissembles it for fear of disobliging the *French* King.

These Gentlemen, who live at such a distance, know it seems better than the *French* King what is done under his nose. So far one may allow 'em, that their young Master is capable of any Dissimulation, as they make him guilty of the vilest, in continuing in the most execrable Superstition, contrary to his Conscience, in compliment to the *French* King: tho did they believe what they say themselves, they would not (lest he should come to know it) thus divulge the Secret of the Pretender's Conversion.

Should any about the Pretender infuse into him the least Scruple concerning his Religion, he would quickly meet with his Reward in the Gallies; or should the *French* King suspect that the Pretender did not design to follow the Advice his dying Father gave him, of continuing

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stedfast to the Catholick Religion, he would use him worse than he has done any of his Hugonots. Can it be suppos'd that the Pretender could be converted, without communicating even his first Scruples to his Priests; or that they, except they were in a plot against themselves, would not strait reveal it to their King?

One may be confident, there's not a Papist either in or out of the Kingdom, but is perfectly easy as to his pretended Conversion. Nor can any Protestant suppose he will declare himself a Convert, without the Consent and Advice of the Pope and *French King*; and therefore he must needs think such a Protestant a more dangerous Enemy than an open Papist: and consequently, such a vile Dissimulation would be a new Argument, and the only one which before was wanting, for the Nation to be on their guard against him.

The Jacobites say, tho' it should be allow'd that the Pretender has not at present very favourable Sentiments of the *English*, yet that upon their recalling him these would soon be chang'd, and that the Misfortunes of his pretended Father would deter him from endeavouring to set up Arbitrary Power in this Nation.

If Examples in this case did much influence Kings, History would not have been so full of Instances of Princes, who have been so bewitch'd with the Charms of Arbitrary Power, as to hazard every thing for its sake. And what reason have we to imagine that the Pretender will learn more Wisdom by King *James's* Misfortune, than King *James* himself did by the Misfortune of a great many of his Ancestors, or even by his own Banishment, which only serv'd to give him an incurable Aversion to the *English*?

A Prince who has been bred up in an Opinion, That all which a People can do for their King is but doing as they are in Duty bound, will never believe that the recalling him can atone for keeping him so long out of his pretended Divine Right. The Prejudices that were early imprinted on his Mind, are now so fix'd and rivetted, that 'tis impossible the greatest Obligations should remove them: so that should he ever return, it would be with all the Anger and Resentment of an injur'd Exile; and were it ever true in any case, it must be so here:

— *Regnabit sanguine multo
Ad Regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.*

Some perhaps, because they have asserted the utter Unlawfulness of resisting Kings and disinheriting the next Heir, expect (how ill soever he may treat others) to have always a share of his Favour: But will he not be afraid they will play him the same devilish prank as they did the late King *James*? for as the Devil first tempts and then torments, so no sooner had they seduc'd that weak Prince to act the part he did, by crying up his Divine Right to an unlimited Power, but they punish'd him with the Loss of his Crown only for exercising that Power, which they had establish'd on no less than a Divine Right. And how can he depend even on the Oaths of such Men, who tho they believ'd King *James* could not forfeit his Right to their Allegiance, and knew he claim'd it to the last, could yet swear Allegiance to his Enemy?

Can the Pretender put any confidence in those, who tho they maintain'd the Doctrine of an Indefeazible Hereditary Right, could yet at the same time abjure him? By which he cannot but conclude, that either they must think him spurious, or else that in abjuring him they as much swore against their Consciences, as when they swore to a Successor who does not claim by an Hereditary Right. What excuse can Clergymen of these Principles make to the Pretender, who tho they pray'd for him as Prince of *Wales* so long as King *James* continu'd on the Throne, which was owning him in as solemn a manner as was possible, could yet afterwards as solemnly disown him?

The Pretender will be so far from trusting Men who have acted after this manner, that on the contrary he will be under no small temptation to deal with them, as the Dauphin in King *John's* time design'd to have done with those *English* Peers who had invited him over to dethrone that Prince; for looking upon such Traitors as neither fit to be trusted, nor even to live, he bound himself by Oath with sixteen of his Barons, to treat them

them as Rebels so soon as he should be crown'd, and to root out their Posterity.

A famous Jesuit, speaking of those *English* Hereticks that were in *Queen Elizabeth's* days in the Interest of *Mary Queen of Scots*, says, * *There are, God be thank'd, divers Hereticks that are well-affected to her; which is no small miracle, that God has so blinded their eyes, that they should be inclin'd to her, that in the end shall yield 'em their just Deserts, unless they return to the Catholick Faith.* And can it be suppos'd that those Hereticks who are now so miraculously blinded as to be in the Interest of the Pretender, will not have (if they do not turn Papists) what Popery esteems their just Deserts?

The Pretender's Creatures, tho to some they will mutter strange things of a *secret* and *reveal'd* Will, Nearness of Blood, high Resentment, new Measures, things so concerted that they can't miscarry; yet to others whom they despair to bring into their Measures, lest they should see their Ruin before it be too late, they tell 'em that the *Hannover* Succession is so well guarded by Law and Oaths, that the Fear of the Pretender's coming in must needs be groundless and vain.

But if Laws should chance not to be executed, and many who had abjur'd the Pretender should think they had no other way to atone for the Oaths they had taken, but by acting most vigorously against 'em, neither Laws nor Oaths would hinder the Increase of Jacobitism; which has spread so much within these three last Years among all sorts of People, that a Stranger would be apt to think that the Elector of *Hannover* was (as the Jacobites impudently call him) the Pretender that the Nation was oblig'd to abjure: especially had he seen in how many Churches the Doctrines of *Non-Resistance* and *Hereditary Right* (on which the Pretender wholly builds his Claim) were preach'd up, at least with as much Zeal as in the Conventicles of the Jacobites; and that the People chuse rather to fill their Addresses with Contradictions, than to omit those Doctrines so powerfully recommended from the Pulpit.

* *F. Walsingham's Letter to Burleigh, printed 1615. in the Compleat Ambassador.*

Can any Man think there's no danger of the Pretender, when he sees that most of the late Addresses take no notice of the House of *Hannover*, and some seem directly pointed at the Pretender ?

They who in their Addresses not only omit the House of *Hannover*, but describe the Successor they desire in such terms as agree to the Pretender, mean him no doubt ; and are hinder'd from speaking plain, only out of fear of the Law. When therefore publick Ministers (*who have all along been zealous for the House of Hannover*) introduce such Addresses as these, 'tis certain they do not know their Contents. If my Lord Treasurer had perus'd the *Perth* Address which his Son-in-Law my Lord *Duplin* presented, he would never have introduc'd it ; since that Address, after having said *that God alone can dispose of Kingdoms*, and recommended the *solid Principles of Non-Resistance*, and declar'd that their Ancestors gave many *incontestable Proofs that their differing from their Sovereign in matters of Religion, gave 'em not the least allowance for stretching out their hand against the Lord's Anointed ; says, May your Royal Diadem peaceably fall on their head, who by the Laws of God and the Nation have right to inherit it : which can't be presum'd to mean the House of Hannover*, not only because they who are for that House would, to prevent all Mistakes, industriously avoid all Circumlocution ; but because every one knows the difference between a Right to *inherit* and a Right to *succeed*, and that a great many Papists, who as next of kin claim a right to *inherit*, are excluded by that Act which settles the Succession in the Protestant House of *Hannover*, in opposition to that Right which they pretend to as *Heirs*, and which the Jacobites say is unalterable by human Laws, because God alone disposes of Kingdoms.

Can that Noble Lord be presum'd to be acquainted with the Contents of the *Sterling* Address, introduc'd likewise by him ? since that Address, after having call'd the *Sacred Race of the Stuarts the unquestionable Heirs of the Crown of Great Britain*, prays that the *Hereditary Succession may be for ever preserv'd in the Empire of Great Britain* ? I wonder the Gazetteer is not punish'd for publishing such Addresses in the Gazette, for no doubt he does it without Authority ; and yet the Jacobites, who

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perversly wrest every thing, draw from hence very strange Conclusions, as likewise they do from what is said in our Prints about the new Barrier-Treaty, that by it, as it was sent to *Holland, her Majesty's Heirs* (and consequently about thirty Papists) were prefer'd before the House of *Hannover*. But no doubt this, if true, must not be look'd on as Design; and is therefore to be constru'd as a Slip, tho in a matter of such great consequence.

They who are in the Interest of the Family of *Hannover*, will no doubt pay a distinguishing Respect to their Ministers, a due Regard to their Memorials; they will be so far from endeavouring to debar them of their Right of Succession, that they will do all they can to strengthen and support that Right; and they will never countenance Men, who have nothing to recommend them, except being in the Pretender's Interest, or discountenance Men for not being for Hereditary Right.

'Tis no argument of some Mens over-much Zeal for the Service of that Illustrious House, if they can excuse such Affronts against it, as the Faculty of *Scots* Advocates were guilty of, (which remains unpunish'd;) or if Swarms of such Libels are encourag'd to fly about, as do not only highly reflect on that Family, but either assert the Unlawfulness of putting by the next Heir on account of his Religion, or else argue for altering the Law relating to the Succession. Nor will a real Kindness for that Family cause Men to censure with the utmost Severity, such as in their Zeal against those treasonable Libels might happen to be guilty of a Slip; much less make 'em by forc'd *Innuendo's* to wrest the words of those who employ their Pens in defence of the Protestant Succession.

In a word, People who know what court Men generally make to the next Successor, can't be at a loss what opinion to frame of some Men, when they see that all their Actions (by which alone they can judg of them) i'ther with relation to things abroad or at home, tend directly to the same point, and that they seem to scruple no means to bring it about; I say, whoever considers this, will be of the same Sentiments with all People abroad, whether they are our *old* or *new* Friends.

Tho *France* is at present as formidable to *Europe*, especially to us its next Neighbours, as *Rome* was of old; yet some People would persuade us, that taking from *Holland* and giving to *France*, is the only way to preserve the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, and that a good Barrier for the *Dutch* is dangerous to the *English*.

Dangerous it may be to the Pretender, because every one must see, if the *Dutch* have not such a Barrier as is strong enough to prevent the *French* from breaking thro it, till they can hire such a number of Troops (which will take up no small time) as are sufficient to oppose the Power of the *French* King, that he may with one Army keep the *Dutch* from stirring; and with another, by the assistance of his good Allies the Papists and Jacobites, impose his Creature upon us.

If we alone are not now a Match for *France*, how infinitely superiour must she quickly grow in Naval Power, by a Trade which even in a time of War brought her in (and for the most part in Ships of her own) about five millions yearly? Must we not inevitably become a *French* Province, if we suffer our selves to be depriv'd of the possibility of any Assistance from that Maritime Power, which alone can help us; and which even at the time of the Revolution, had not the *French* Forces been employ'd in *Upper Germany*, could not have spar'd those Troops which secur'd us from Popery and Slavery?

How will the Ballance of Power be preserv'd, if the *Dutch* have on the side of *Mons* no other Barrier but *Mons* it self? May not the *French* at any time sit down before it, and upon their taking it they must become masters of *Brabant*? and consequently, the *Dutch* Frontier Towns, with their Garisons (all Communication between them and *Holland* being cut off) must fall into the hands of the *French*: And when they are once more at the Gates of *Nimeguen*, we must then either piece up as well as we can a dispirited disjointed Confederacy, and come in with all our Forces to save *Holland*, or else suffer it to be conquer'd by *France*. And then can we, who are not at present a Match for *France* at Sea, be able to withstand the united Fleets of *France* and *Holland*? And since her Majesty has declar'd from the Throne, That the *French* King is certainly engag'd to ex-

virpate our Religion, as well as reduce these Kingdoms to Slavery * ; 'tis not likely that we then should have the privilege of being devour'd the last.

They who talk, as these Gentlemen do, about the Ballance of Power, must after the same rate allow that the *Dutch* had taken a proper method to obtain this Balance, if they, after having given the most solemn Assurances of their Forces acting in concert with those of the rest of the Allies, should for fear of bringing the Enemy too low, even while they had the fairest opportunity of destroying him, have agreed to a Cessation of Arms for themselves and Troops in their pay, to the endangering the Forces of the rest of the Confederates: and then, after having possess'd themselves of such places as would most distress those who refus'd to come into a Cessation, should spend more Money than probably would have reduc'd *France*, in assisting to kindle a War in the North; and in bringing the *Turk* into *Christendom*, in order to force *Britain* to deliver *Portsmouth* and *Plymouth* to *France*: and all this for the better preserving the Balance of Power.

Some Men make it their business to persuade People, that if the *Dutch* (who they say are our Rivals in Trade) were destroy'd, then the greatest part of the Trade of the World would center in us.

But this is of a piece with the rest of their Reasonings; since we gain much above a Million yearly by such of our Manufactures as the *Dutch* consume, or by means of their Rivers carry up to *Germany*. But should the *French* become masters of *Holland*, they would by supplying *Germany* with their own Woollen Manufactures, engross that profitable Trade. And no part of the rest of their Trade would fall to our share, because all that (excepting only what their own Plantations afford 'em) depends on their carrying Goods cheaper than other Nations; in which we are the most expensive of all People.

The *French* alone are our Rivals in Trade, especially with relation to our Woollen Manufactures; and it

* Speech in Parliament, Octob. 27. 1705.

would be very strange, if our Country Gentlemen, who were formerly so much concern'd about our *Spanish Trade*, should now be in no pain lest so good a Catholic as *Philip* would prefer the enriching those of his own Religion, the Subjects of his Grandfather, and who in a short time may be his own, before those Hereticks to whom the House of *Bourbon* has always had an aversion.

The Advantage of an uninterrupted Commerce, while other trading Nations are in war, would not have suffer'd our Wool to be at so low a price, especially when such quantities are sent to *France*, if we had the same Vent for our Manufactures in *Spain* as formerly.

Every one knows that 'tis in the power of the *Spanish* Government, without a direct Violation of the Treaty, so to encourage the *French*, and discourage the *English* Manufactures, as to spoil our Trade to *Spain*; nay, that the Popish Clergy (who are always for the Prince that sets up for Universal Monarchy) can hinder such Bigots as the *Spaniards* from trading with Hereticks, when Catholics will afford 'em the same Commodities. And can we doubt but that the Church will exercise their spiritual Arms on this occasion, and their Priests refuse to absolve such Favourers of Hereticks, as after admonition obstinately continue to trade with 'em? But it seems by the several Petitions of our *Turkey* Merchants, and others concern'd in the Woollen Manufacture, that *Philip* does not only take all indirect ways to hinder our Trade; but has, in defiance of the Treaty, allow'd the *French* to buy *Spanish* Wool above six per Cent. cheaper than the *English*: And 'tis confidently reported, that the trading Towns of *France* are about being incorporated with the Chamber of *Sevil*, in order to carry on in common both the *East* and *West-India* Trade. And if we are to be excluded from the *Spanish* Trade (as no doubt the House of *Bourbon* designs it) the Value of Land will not only wonderfully sink, but a million of People, who now subsist by the Woollen Manufactures, and the manufacturing those Commodities we have in exchange for 'em, must either starve or else be maintain'd out of the Land; which will be more burdensom to our Gentry, than even a treble Land-Tax.

Our Gentry, I am sure, could not be easy, did they but consider that 'tis in the power of the House of *Bourbon*, by seizing on *Portugal* and its Plantations, to be Masters of all those places which send any Gold or Silver to *Europe*; and that *Portugal* seems to have no way to prevent this fatal Blow, but by taking none but *French* Manufactures, which would be equally fatal to *England*. And nothing can be a more melancholy Reflection, than to consider that tho *France* may quickly become Master of such an immense Source of Riches, yet that the rest of *Europe*, already so much exhausted, has no way of recruiting.

Had not the Necessity of our Affairs (we not raising full seven Millions for the Service of the last Year) oblig'd us to consent in that nick of time to a Cessation, or could our Army have kept their post till the Reduction of *Landrecy*, That, as the *French* King owns*, would have open'd an Entrance to the Enemy into his Kingdom: who had they once got into it, could not easily have been hinder'd from marching to his Capital, or where they pleas'd. And this must have produc'd an immediate Peace, by obliging the *French* King to have given up *Spain*, and whatever else was demanded at the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg*: except we can suppose he would run the risque of losing *France*, as well as *Spain*, in hazarding a Battel with his so often baffled Troops, against the most numerous and best-appointed Forces that the Allies ever brought into the Field.

The *French* formerly recovering from us by Treaty what they lost to us in War, made that vain People claim as great a Superiority over the *English* in Understanding, as these had over the *French* in Arms: tho this was not then owing to want of Sense in the *English*, but merely to want of Honesty in the Ministers; who too often from a very mean Condition being suddenly advanc'd to the highest Honours, and sensible how fickle Court-Favour was, resolv'd to get enough at

* *French* King's Letter to the Archbishop of Paris, for singing Te Deum for relieving *Landrecy*, &c.

once for the Support of their new Titles, and betray'd their Country. But now, 'tis to be hop'd, we have such an able and honest Ministry, as will intirely free the Nation from that Scandal, and shew the World that the *English* know how to treat as well as fight.

If the *French* again over-reach us more than ever, how will the Honour of the Nation suffer, and how shall we be insulted by 'em for the future? If before now they could revile us in so gross a manner, in the famous *Traite de la Politique de France*, * *The English are a Nation without Faith, without Religion, without Probity or Justice; inconstant to the last degree, proud, rash, impatient, covetous, debauch'd, hating one another, and in continual Quarrels either about Religion or Government, &c.* what Character hereafter will they bestow on us for our Folly?

But this is not the worst, if our Trade (which so many Petitions to the Commissioners of Trade suppose to be in danger) should be lost: As we should import no more Money from abroad, so our present Stock will be all quickly exhausted, our Lands will be reduc'd, our Gentry must become Beggars, and these Kingdoms soon be made a Prey and Province to *France*.

One would think, that even the profess'd Jacobites should not be for making the *French* King so powerful, and us so poor, in order to bring in the Pretender, that he, when brought in, could only hope to be his Lieutenant during pleasure. This indeed would shew that they were extremely loyal to *Lewis XIV.* and resolv'd to sacrifice every thing to him, even that absolute Power which they suppose by Divine Right belongs to the Pretender.

A Nation which has so long enjoy'd the inestimable Blessings of Liberty, will bear Chains with a very ill grace; especially when to Slavery will be added the Ignominy of being second-hand Slaves: And one would not think it possible for any who calls himself a freeborn *Englishman*, even tho he should once have been contented to have taken the Pretender on certain Conditions, to be

* Les Anglois ce sont des gens sans Foy, sans Religion, sans Probite, sans Justice aucune, &c. p. 252.

now willing to suffer the *French King* to govern here by him as his Deputy ; for he must needs see, that 'tis now brought to this short Issue, Whether we will have the House of *Hannover* or the House of *Bourbon*, be Protestants and Freemen under the former, or Slaves and Papists under the latter.

And since, as her Majesty has declar'd to her People, * *We have learnt by our own Experience, that no Peace with France will last longer than the first Opportunity of their dividing the Allies, and of attacking some of 'em with advantage ;* is it not highly probable, that now the Protestants in the North are actually in War, and no good Understanding between some others, that the *French King* will take this opportunity to impose his Creature upon us? But however That be, there is a prodigious Concurrence of *Irish* and other Papists to this Town and the adjacent places ; particularly of those *out-law'd*, and other Popish Officers, who have so many years been fighting against their Country : and the Jacobites are become as insolent, as if they were sure of the Pretender's coming immediately ; infomuch that the *Examiner* has warn'd the Whigs to prepare to die with Decency.

'Tis certainly very strange, that while the Protestants abroad are in so much pain for us, we our selves should be unconcern'd. And therefore to rouse People, if possible, out of their Lethargy, I shall more particularly shew the deplorable Circumstances Men of all Conditions must be in, if for want of heartily uniting among our selves the Pretender should prevail.

All who are concern'd in the Funds, can then have no hopes of continuing to enjoy 'em ; since owning him, is in effect owning that the Laws made since the Revolution, especially such as directly contributed to the keeping him out, are all void : and 'twill be esteem'd Favour enough for those who voluntarily contributed their Mony for the Support of what will then be call'd Rebellion, to be allow'd to escape hanging. 'Tis the Interest of the Landed Men, as well as of others, to see that the Funds

* *Speech in Parliament, Octob. 27. 1705.*

are not diverted from their proper Use; and that what was given to keep out Popery and Slavery, may not be seiz'd on towards maintaining a *French* Army for the Support of both.

Whoever is possess'd of any Church-Lands, must strangely flatter himself, if he thinks he shall not be forc'd to part with 'em, even tho he turns Papist: he will never be esteem'd a true Convert, who retains a Foot of what was given to the Church.

Parsons the Jesuit (who did not speak without Authority) very roundly tells the Nation, ' That ||| 'tis absolutely necessary the Church-Lands should be restor'd; ' That the Apostolick See in Queen *Mary's* days was ' content to take what she could get, rather than lose ' all; That the Toleration was on constraint, and for ' fear of further Inconvenience, as appears by the very ' words of the Bull which Cardinal *Pool* deliver'd to ' the Realm.' And this is the same Remark that Bishop *Burnet* makes, who says, ' * What the Cardinal then ' did, appear'd to be all Artifice; since he bid Men be ' afraid of the Judgments that fell on *Belshazzar* for using ' the holy Vessels: which was loosing and binding at the ' same time, allowing it and yet calling it Sacrilege.' ' And the same Pope (by whose Authority *Pool* acted) ' quickly after publish'd a Bull, which excommunicated ' † not only those who held any Church-Lands, but all ' Princes, Prelates, and Magistrates, who did not assist ' in the Execution of such Bulls. And this so frightened ' Queen *Mary*, that she gave up all the Church-Lands ' which belong'd to the Crown. The next Pope liv'd ' but 21 days, and thought no Pope could be sav'd. ' But the next after him told our Embassadors, who enter'd *Rome* on the day of his Election, that || the ' Church-Lands must be restor'd, and that they must ' render back all to the last farthing, because they be-

||| Memorial for the Reform. of England, p. 50, 51.

* Hist. of the Reform. Par. 2. p. 298.

† Ibid. p. 309.

|| P. 310, 311.

‘ long’d to God, and could not be kept back without
 ‘ Damnation ; that his Power was not so large as to pro-
 ‘ fane things dedicated to God, and that they would be
 ‘ an Anathema and Contagion to the Nation. And as
 ‘ he repeated this every time he spoke to ’em, so he
 ‘ told ’em St. *Peter* would not open Heaven’s Gates to
 ‘ ’em, so long as they usurp’d his Goods on earth, and
 ‘ did not pay *Peter*-pence.’

Tho in Queen *Mary*’s days, when Popery was here
 establish’d, without any Assistance from abroad, it was
 not thought advisable immediately to seize on the Church-
 Lands, yet the Pretender will not stand in need of any
 such mean Dissimulation : for being sure of the powerful
 Assistance of the House of *Bourbon*, he will run very
 little hazard in getting ’em all immediately restor’d.
 And he will think himself oblig’d to do this, for his own
 and the Nation’s temporal as well as eternal Interest, if
 he be of the opinion of a Reverend Author, who says ;

‘ * So much has the Crown got by the Accession of sa-
 ‘ crilegious Wealth, as from Imperial Dignity and Pro-
 ‘ priety paramount in all the Lands of *England*, to be-
 ‘ come an honourable Beggar for its daily Bread ; and
 ‘ that there lies an heavy Curse on the Nation for rob-
 ‘ bing God, which can’t be remov’d without Restitution.’

’Tis certainly worth their while, whose Estates are
 in Church-Lands, to consider whether they (influenc’d
 perhaps by some Priest who thinks the Reformation was
 built on robbing God) are not in such measures as
 must, if not quickly chang’d, bring themselves and Fa-
 milies to Beggary, while greasy Fryars get their Lands,
 and laugh at their Folly.

Nor ought Protestants to imagine they shall be per-
 mitted to retain even their other Estates, when by the
 Laws of the *Romish* Religion they have forfeited their
 Right to Life : nor will they be safe, tho they change
 their Religion, since even then Arbitrary Power (which
 spares nobody) will reach them.

* *Lefly’s Essay of Tithes*, p. 160, 227.

In all Absolute Governments, whether Popish or Protestant, the Lands are so over-tax'd, that the Nobility and Gentry can't live on 'em without some Office or Pension; which is not like to fall to the share of the new Converts, who in all Popish Countries are but little trusted or regarded.

When the Freeholders (a Name unknown in Arbitrary Governments) are reduc'd to Wooden Shoes and Rags, and have nothing to keep them alive but Water and the coarsest Bread, and perhaps mix'd, as in *Sweden*, with the Bark of Trees; 'twill be dismal to reflect that by their own Folly they fell into this miserable Condition: and their only Comfort will then be, to see those who shall buy their Votes, and sell their Liberties, involv'd in the same Ruin.

Arbitrary Princes (who tho they love the Treason, yet hate the Traitor) have no regard to past Services, when Persons are incapable of serving them any longer, but involve all in the same common Ruin; resolving not to give any cause of Discontent by their Partiality in this case. And this manner of acting, is, I believe, the only Instance the *French* can produce of their Justice. But I refer my Reader to the *Letter to Sir Jacob Banks*, where he will meet with a true and lively Description of the Miseries to which the greatest as well as the least, the Women as well as the Men of a neighbouring Kingdom, were in a short time reduc'd by Arbitrary Power; and how little reason the Instruments of it have, to imagine they shall escape better than others.

Will it be possible for *England*, when reduc'd to such miserable Circumstances, to pay what the *French* King will demand, for educating, defending, and restoring the Pretender? And the whole Expence he has been at during this long War, will easily come in under the same head? And yet if we cannot pay it, we must expect that great numbers of us shall be sold for Slaves, and sent away to the Mines and Gallies.

Always to fear Death, and every night to lie down with the apprehension of having one's self and Family murder'd before morning, is of all Conditions the most dismal; and yet this is no more than all the Protestants

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of these Realms will have just reason to apprehend, if they should fall into the hands of the Popish Pretender: since wherever Hereticks are in such numbers, that they can't otherwise conveniently be dispatch'd, the Papists make no scruple to have recourse to Massacres.

No Popish Prince, especially one so well acquainted with the uncertain Temper of the *English*, will think himself safe among such a number of Protestants as are crouded together in *London*; and therefore 'twill be, no doubt, thought necessary once more to purge this City with Fire. And it would behove all Men to consider before it be too late, whether the Flames will make any distinction, or whether in a Night of Horror and Distraction, when all the Cruelties of former Massacres are practis'd here by *French* Dragoons and *Irish* Papists, any one of what Party soever can escape the common Ruin. They can't expect to be safe, by crying out they are ready to go to Mass; since then almost every one will say the same to save themselves. The *Irish* made no distinction between Protestants, but massacred them all alike; and when they either by Threats or Promises prevail'd on any to say they would go to Mass, they notwithstanding murder'd 'em immediately, on pretence it was best for 'em to die then in a good Mind, for fear of their relapsing afterwards. And in the holy War with the *Albigenses*, upon the taking of a Town, tho there were a great many Papists mix'd with the Hereticks, that none of the latter might escape, they were all promiscuously slain: and lest any should scruple this promiscuous Butchery, they were told that the Catholics died with the Satisfaction that at the last Day God would distinguish his own.

When by a Massacre, or other barbarous methods, the Nation is pretty well purg'd of Hereticks, an Inquisition no doubt will be set up to compleat the great Work; for the Popish Priests will never think a Nation which has been so long infested with Heresy, sufficiently secure from relapsing, without that great Support of their Religion. And therefore *Parsons* the Jesuit very frankly owns, That an Inquisition in *England* is so absolutely necessary, that without that care all

will

will slide down and fall again *. And had Queen *Mary* liv'd to set up Inquisition-Courts in *England*, as she design'd †, in all likelihod we had been at this day as great Popish Bigots as the *Spaniards* themselves; whom nothing but the Inquisition, as is prov'd by Dr. *Geddes* ||, hinder'd from becoming a Nation of Protestants.

'Tis no wonder all Popish Priests are so fond of an Inquisition-Court, because whoever is committed by 'em neither knows his Accusers, ||| nor of what he is accus'd. And if he be not so lucky as to light on the thing for which he was clapt up, and the Persons who were privy to it, he is not only in danger of being several times rack'd, but is burnt at last for an obstinate Heretick: which makes him confess all that was either said or done in his company during his whole Life in favour of Heresy. And the Inquisition having this barbarous way of fishing out Secrets, no one who hears any thing which in the least reflects on Popery, can think himself safe, if he does not immediately discover it to the Inquisitors; who having the Estates of all they condemn, no doubt daily condemn several for no other Heresy, but that of being too rich.

Some indeed tell us, That there's no danger of an Inquisition, tho the Pretender should prevail here, since there's none in *France*, nor are the Protestants there put to Death. But the Dragoons in *France* serve instead of Inquisitors; who, tho they do not kill the Protestants on the spot, yet they torment 'em in such a manner, as human Nature can't endure. And certainly 'tis a greater kindness to kill Men all at once, than to be Months and Years about it; and to leave 'em no other Choice at last, than either to damn themselves by renouncing their Religion, or else to suffer such Torments as long as Soul and Body can hold together, as are only exceeded by those of the Damn'd in Hell; as is plain from the ac-

* Memorial for the Reform. of *England*, p. 99.

† Hist. of the Reform. par. 2. p. 347.

|| Preface to the Spanish Protestant Martyrology.

||| *Geddes's* View of the Inquisition in *Portugal*.

count we have on all hands had of that terrible Persecution.

‘ I saw, says a worthy *Prelate of our own Church, the Persecution in its utmost Rage and Fury, of which I could give many Instances, much beyond the common Measures of Barbarity and Cruelty.——Never was there in any Age such a Violation of all that’s sacred with relation to God and Man: And the Applauses which the whole Clergy give to this way of proceeding, prove that it may be call’d the Act of the whole Clergy of *France*; they animate even the Dragoons to higher degrees of Rage.’

And yet these very Men (which shows that Falshood and Cruelty are inseparable) are always crying up the great Moderation and Clemency of their King, in converting the Hugonots. The famous Bishop of *Meaux* (to name no other) says, † ‘ That not one of the new Converts has suffer’d in his Person or Goods; they are so far from enduring Torments, that they have not so much as heard ’em mention’d; other Bishops, I hear, affirm the same. But for you, my Brethren, you are return’d peaceably to us, you know it.’ Yet this is the Church, and these the Clergy, that are not only cry’d up by *Lesley* and such good Protestants, but our Church is exhorted to unite with ’em.

How the *English* will be dealt with if ever they fall into the hands of the *French* King, or which is the same, into those of his Creature, may be guess’d by the Treatment they now meet with in a Town said to be deliver’d up to us; where we are not only deny’d the Use of an old abandon’d Chappel for the Exercise of our Religion, but our People (who, as they tell us from *France*, die there like poison’d Rats) are forc’d, on the account of their Heresy, to be bury’d like Dogs. And the Suffering of the *French* Protestants in the Gallies there, has given ’em a true Idea of the *French* Clemency. And for those who have not

* Bishop Burnet’s fourth Letter of Travels.

† Pastoral Letter to his Clergy.

had an opportunity of seeing how the Protestants are used, I earnestly recommend to them to read an Account given by an Eye-witness of the *Torments which the French Protestants endure aboard the Gallies*; prefix'd to a Book lately printed, intitl'd, *A Specimen of Papal and French Persecution*, &c.

What has been here said, I hope is sufficient to engage all Protestants, who have Souls, Bodies, or Estates to save, and who love their God, their Queen, (whom the Pretender not long since attempted to dethrone as an Usurper) and their Country, to forget all their petty Quarrels, and unite together like one Man, in opposing Popery and the Popish Pretender: And the more so, because of the villanous methods the Faction take to create Divisions among us. And therefore I shall conclude with the words of King William's last Speech to his Parliament: *Let there be no other Distinction heard of among us for the future, but of those who are for the Protestant Religion and the Present Establishment, and of those who mean a Popish Prince and a French Government.*

F I N I S.